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APRIL 1936

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The JOURNAL of EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

VOL. IX

APRIL 1936

No. 8

POPULATION AND SCHOOLS¹

RUFUS D. SMITH

New York University

Much of America's social and economic psychology has arisen out of three fundamental population facts. The American, in the first place, has had plenty of elbow room. If crowded in one section of the country, he moved on to another. For centuries Westward-Ho dominated the thought of the people of this continent. Secondly, as native sons moved West, the sons and daughters of Europe arrived at eastern ports, later to follow westward in search of open spaces and cheaper land. In the third place, the population expanded rapidly as the result of a very high birth rate. These three interrelated facts have given this country the psychology of movement, of expansion, of speculation, and of vitality, which still persists as an American habit of mind, although the underlying causes have disappeared or are disappearing.

To begin with, the westward movement recoiled upon itself. The city has gained heavily at the expense of the farm. Secondly,

¹The predictions and statistical material are based on authoritative material, the most of which is from Government publications. I am particularly indebted to Mr. O. E. Baker, senior agricultural economist, United States Department of Agriculture, Mr. L. I. Dublin, third vice-president and statistician, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and Messrs. Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, of the Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems.

immigration, after a long period of political agitation, was shut off by the Quota Act of 1924. Between 1900 and 1914, immigrants to the new world averaged approximately one million a year. Since 1924, the outgo of people in several years has exceeded the number coming in. Now the American people face a reversal of the third great social fact; namely, rapid population expansion. The birth rate has dropped so precipitously since 1921 that America faces, during the current phase of its national life, a slowly increasing—even a stationary—population, in contrast to a rapidly increasing one. The latter will come about sooner, in fact, than any one expected a few years ago. All data point to the approaching end of American population growth. The United States stands at the beginning of an epoch, a turning point in its social history. The reversal has crept on us stealthily, and an appreciation of the fact has as yet not been comprehended by the leaders of the nation, not to mention the general public.

Barring unforeseen factors, this profound social change, more than anything else, will determine the kind of a world we will live in during the coming decades. America will be a totally different place for our children and grandchildren. A slowing up in the rate of population growth, even the possibility of a stationary America within a short space of time, and the likelihood of declining numbers within two or three decades will profoundly affect every phase of American life.

It will come now as somewhat of a shock to many of our citizens to learn that their ideas of rapid expansion in numbers must be revised, that the times have changed in this respect as well as in others. A statement of these facts may develop a variety of opinions, even arouse possible antagonisms and prejudices on the part of the uninformed and the ignorant as well as of professional boosters.

However, there is enough material now available from un-

questioned sources to make clear that America is entering a new population epoch. It is now possible to mark out quite clearly the general trends that this new era will take. In short, prediction has passed from a basis of mere conjecture to that of concrete statistical evidence upon which some very general trends can be outlined. It is interesting to note also that this American change follows a similar movement in northwestern Europe by about thirteen years, and appears to be taking the same general course. The peak in births in both England and Germany was reached around 1908, some thirteen years earlier than the 1921 high mark of the United States. It is estimated that the population of northwestern Europe, more particularly Germany and England, will start to decline within a very few years unless births or immigration increase. It appears likely that America will follow suit somewhere between 1950 and 1960.

Because of the decrease in the actual number of children born—a characteristic of the last ten years—the school will be among the first of the social institutions to face readjustment. In the country as a whole for the fifty years up to 1920, and in some sections until 1930, the elementary schools of the United States went through a tremendous expansion in numbers, to be followed later by an even more spectacular increase in high-school enrollments. In the early years of the present century, more particularly at the end of the war, these earlier elementary- and high-school expansions resolved themselves into a stupendous increase in enrollments in colleges and institutions of higher education.

As a method of approach to the interrelationships of population and school enrollments the material on the former was assembled first, following which the statistical evidence bearing on school attendance was correlated with these population trends.

During the '20's a few population experts began to point out that certain fundamental changes were operating profoundly to curtail the rapid expansion of American population, although the facts at that time were clouded by the vast number of immigrants who were entering America and who had, because of their age composition, a very high birth rate. Professor Walter Willcox of Cornell University pointed out that a decline in the native birth rate of America began as early as 1810.² Beginning with 1921, however, a drop became noticeable in the American rate as a whole, while in 1924, after immigration had been cut off almost entirely, the decline became very apparent. This was followed in turn by the depression which accentuated the trend. The 1930 census revealed officially these changes in population trends. Half of another decade has now elapsed, and the trends of the 1930 census seem to be doubly reinforced.

In 1932 the Federal Government published an exhaustive report entitled *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, in which appeared these predictions:

An influence affecting the status of children is their diminishing proportion in society. In 1930 for the first time there were fewer children under five years of age in one census year than in the one preceding. For the first time also there were fewer children under five years of age than from 5 to 10 years of age. *In some cities already there are not enough children to occupy the desks in the earlier grades.* This decreasing enrollment has not yet reached the high schools, but it is only a question of time, unless a larger proportion of those out of school are continued in school.³ . . . The consequences of recent trends in age composition are already noticeable and will become more pronounced in the future, since they are almost certain to continue.⁴ . . .

² Cited in *The Outlook for Rural Youth*, by O. E. Baker. Washington, D. C.: United States Department of Agriculture, Extension Service Circular 223, September 1935, p. 14.

³ *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933), p. xlv, author's italics.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

There were fewer children under 5 years of age in 1930 than in 1920, hence there will be a smaller number to enter the first grade during 1930-1935 than during 1920-1925. By 1940 or 1945 there will be a smaller number for each grade up to senior high school, for most of the children who will be in these grades in 1940 were born during 1924-1931, just as most children in these grades in 1930 were born during 1914-1921. The number of births in the later period was nearly 1,200,000 less than the number in the earlier period, *so that there will be about 1,000,000 fewer children aged 9-16 in 1940 than in 1930, making a liberal allowance for falling death rates.*⁵

Birth statistics compiled from figures of the United States Bureau of the Census indicate that these predictions were sound and that they are continuing downward both in rates and in numbers.

Figures of births tabulated for a selected group of 12 States bulking large in American population indicate a gross loss in births between 1924 and 1934 of 279,135, or 22.6 per cent. The percentage of loss in numbers in each of these States during the decade mentioned was as follows:⁶ Massachusetts, 30 per cent; Rhode Island, 30 per cent; Connecticut and New Jersey, 29 per cent each; Pennsylvania, 28 per cent; Ohio, 24 per cent; Indiana, 23 per cent; Maryland and New York, 21 per cent each; Illinois, 19 per cent; Michigan, 14 per cent; California, 10 per cent. In a group of Western States, the loss was 13 per cent.

In 1924 approximately 2,900,000 children were born in the United States. In 1933 and 1934 the number had dropped to around 2,300,000, although 1934 showed a slight increase in numbers over 1933.

There were about 9 per cent fewer children under 5 years

⁵ *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, p. 33, author's italics.

⁶ Bureau of the Census, Birth Statistics.

Place	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
Connecticut	34,071	31,214	30,731	31,715	29,736	29,167	28,931	28,245	27,257
Maryland.....	36,971	34,511	34,679	34,634	33,864	32,867	32,495	31,816	29,924
New Jersey.....	78,230	74,558	74,689	76,707	74,181	72,402	72,814	70,080	68,345
New York*.....	240,210	231,363	230,889	233,839	230,350	223,819	228,134	223,070	217,634
Ohio.....	129,375	122,735	128,649	131,841	126,878	123,889	123,611	120,407	116,564
Pennsylvania...	229,452	214,348	217,235	223,103	215,120	207,696	210,001	200,769	189,524
New York City†	134,241	129,684	129,160	130,436	128,790	125,515	128,889	126,332	124,404

Absolute loss

Place	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1934 over 1924	
							<i>Numbers</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Connecticut	27,693	25,555	23,731	22,437	22,215	.....	9,500	.29
Maryland.....	30,251	28,782	28,820	27,440	27,340	.....	7,294	.21
New Jersey.....	68,321	64,054	61,219	56,061	54,541	.....	22,166	.29
New York*.....	216,556	206,238	198,195	187,295	185,709	184,244	48,130	.21
Ohio.....	118,260	108,150	101,753	95,783	100,100	.....	31,741	.24
Pennsylvania...	189,458	178,714	168,534	157,046	160,238	.....	62,865	.28
New York City†	122,811	115,621	109,878	103,500	101,239	100,657	29,197	.22

* Figures from New York State Bureau of Vital Statistics.

† Figures from New York City Department of Health.

<i>Place</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1922</i>	<i>1923</i>	<i>1924</i>	<i>1925</i>	<i>1926</i>	<i>1927</i>	<i>1928</i>
Connecticut.....	24.1	21.7	21.1	21.4	19.8	19.1	18.7	18.0
Maryland.....	25.0	23.1	22.9	22.6	21.9	21.0	20.5	19.9
New Jersey.....	23.8	22.1	21.6	21.6	20.4	19.5	19.1	18.0
New York.....	22.4	21.2	20.7	20.5	19.9	18.9	19.0	18.3
Ohio.....	22.0	20.5	21.2	21.4	20.3	19.6	19.3	18.5
Pennsylvania.....	25.9	24.0	24.1	24.5	23.4	22.3	22.4	21.2
New York City*	23.10	21.84	21.29	21.05	20.37	19.46	19.59	18.84

<i>Place</i>	<i>1929</i>	<i>1930</i>	<i>1931</i>	<i>1932</i>	<i>1933</i>	<i>1934</i>	<i>1935</i>
Connecticut.....	17.1	17.2	15.7	14.5	13.6	....	....
Maryland.....	18.5	18.5	17.5	17.4	16.5	....	....
New Jersey.....	17.2	16.8	15.6	14.8	13.4	....	....
New York.....	17.5	17.1	16.1	15.4	14.4	....	13.5†
Ohio.....	17.7	17.7	16.1	15.1	14.1	....	....
Pennsylvania.....	19.8	19.6	18.4	17.3	16.0	....	....
New York City*	18.20	17.64	16.31	15.22	14.1	13.5	13.24

* New York City figures from the New York City Department of Health. The other figures from the United States Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce.

† Figure for 1935 from the New York State Bureau of Vital Statistics.

of age in the United States in 1934 than in 1930, 7 per cent in the age group 5 to 10. The peak of births in the United States was reached in 1921. In 1935, in consequence, there were 100,000 more children completing the elementary schools in America than ever before or than will, in all likelihood, ever do so hereafter. By 1940, it is figured by Mr. O. E. Baker, senior agricultural economist of the United States Department of Agriculture, there will be 200,000 fewer children 14 years of age than in 1935, by 1950 possibly 600,000 to 700,000 less.⁷ In 1924 American population was increasing as much as 1,800,000 a year; in 1934 the excess number had declined to 800,000. Mr. Baker estimates that within a short time the number of births may total only half the 1925 number. He says:

One of the most significant changes has been in population—not in total population, as yet, but in the number of children and in the number of old people. About 2,900,000 children were born in 1924 and only 2,260,000 in 1933. (Returns for 1934 are not yet complete.) Births have decreased 3 to 4 per cent a year during the depression—almost twice as rapidly as before the depression. Such a rate of decline in births would result in only about half as many children being born 15 years hence as were born 10 years ago, and in a similar decline in the nation's population a generation later. However, it is likely that the rate of decline in births will soon become less rapid. If the rate during the five years before the depression is resumed, it will be nearly 25 years before the number of young children in the nation will be only half that of 10 years ago. Already the enrollment in the lower grades of the public schools is declining rapidly. . . .

The United States has been a youthful nation. It has been dominantly rural and the number of children per family is about twice as large among the farm people as it is in the population living in large cities. With urbanization the nation is becoming middle-aged, and the prospect is that old age will creep upon it prematurely—only 25 to 50 years hence. During the next quarter century there should be the strength of middle age, and then, unless the birth rate rises, or there is

⁷ *Commercial Agriculture and the National Welfare*, by O. E. Baker. Washington, D. C.: United States Department of Agriculture, November 1935, p. 1.

heavy immigration from abroad, a decline will set in. No nation can suffer such a decrease in births to continue as that during the last decade—over 20 per cent—and not suffer the decline in strength that accompanies a rapid aging of the population.⁸

America, from a very rapidly growing population, seems to be approaching a stationary population in 1950 of somewhere between 135,000,000 and 145,000,000 people, possibly 140,000,000. Not enough children are now being born to replace the present population, in view of the statistically reliable fact that the number of daughters is insufficient to replace the present number of women of child-bearing age. Several American cities, probably for the first time in history, have recently lost population. It has been primarily because of the rapid decline in the birth rate that population growth in the United States and in the nations of Western Europe lags behind even the low expectations predicted by population experts only a few years ago.⁹

In making these general predictions, it must be kept in mind that the United States is a very large country and that there will be infinite variations among localities. Within the total area of the United States, there are extremely diverse population forces at work. Some districts fortunately located to draw people from other parts may not be affected at all, while those less fortunately placed may suffer a much earlier decline. The Northeastern and Middle Atlantic States, because of their overwhelmingly urban character and because of their immigrant stock which is so rapidly becoming Americanized, will suffer more heavily than the farming districts of the West and the South; the latter especially still shows a large degree of popu-

⁸ *Population Trends and the National Welfare*, by O. E. Baker. Washington, D. C.: United States Department of Agriculture, p. 1.

⁹ The number of births increased in 1935 over 1934. This is to be expected as a result of a larger number of marriages postponed during the depression. It will have no permanent effect on the birth rate.

lation vitality. The rural population of the Southeastern part of the United States is increasing more rapidly than any other segment, to such an extent that this area might be characterized as the population granary of the Nation. Suburban areas will maintain themselves better than the centers of large cities. Schools in States with high compulsory attendance laws already in force will have little to offset the losses in births, in comparison to schools in States now raising their compulsory age bars. In every study of population and schools, careful attention must be paid to the prolongation of educational training on the part of elementary- and high-school students, a tendency which may be quickened by the decreasing number of children in the American family. Balancing this trend is the fact that the depression through its great loss of work opportunities has kept an abnormally large number of young people in the upper grades of the elementary school and in high school and college. Any reasonable return of prosperity coincident with a falling birth rate and fewer enrollments may remove this condition of "depression" crowding. In New York City, for example, work certificates reached a peak of 52,027 in 1928-1929, and a low point of 21,734 in 1933-1934, showing that in 1933-1934 as compared with 1928-1929 approximately 30,000 fewer children in New York City were leaving school to go to work. It is interesting to note that in the two-year period, 1929-1930 to 1931-1932, high-school enrollments increased 17 per cent, while in the period 1931-1932 to 1933-1934 the percentage of increase was only 10 per cent.

"Will the decline in the birth rate continue?" is a question frequently asked. P. K. Whelpton, of the Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, answers:

In the future it is believed that knowledge about contraceptive practices will spread among the lower economic groups in the cities and among rural people until their situation in these respects is similar to

that of upper economic city groups. . . . In view of the facts, little probability is seen of the birth rate in the United States or in most European countries ceasing to decline, or of present rates being regained in the future. The rapid decrease in the birth rate during the recent depression is not believed to be a temporary phenomenon, to be followed by an increase when good times return.¹⁰

Mr. O. E. Baker answers the question in the following ways:

More serious from the national standpoint than the immediate effects of a declining population will be the great difficulty of stopping the downward trend. The insufficient number of children in one generation to maintain population stationary will result in a smaller number of mothers, who will, unless the birth rate rises rapidly, give birth to a still smaller number of daughters. Thus a downward spiral in population is engendered. The probability is that once a decline in population sets in, caused by volitional control, it will become persistent and progressive.¹¹

The country is rapidly approaching the point of a stationary population. It would appear that lower birth rates rather than higher ones will be the outcome of the many factors involved, while death rates will increase as the older people increase in numbers. There were 34 per cent more people over 65 years of age in 1930 than in 1920. There will be slightly larger numbers of middle-aged people, 20 to 40 years of age, in 1950. After that date the loss in births will reach into the lower middle ages, thus confronting the Nation with a vicious circle. If a nation can increase its population in a geometric ratio, it can decrease it likewise. Furthermore, there is great difficulty in stopping a decline once it begins since the losses tend to become progressive. America is much closer to a stationary population than any of our expert forecasters imagined a few years ago. The following tables will lend support to the above statements.

¹⁰ *Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Agricultural Economists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1935), p. 261.

¹¹ *The Outlook for Rural Youth*, p. 22.

NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE PER 1,000 WOMEN
16 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE (INCLUSIVE), UNITED STATES
1800-1930 AND ESTIMATE FOR 1934¹²

Year	Number	Change
1800	976*	0
1810	976	0
1820	928	-4.9
1830	877	-5.5
1840	835	-4.8
1850	699	-16.3
1860	714	+2.3
1870	649	-9.1
1880	635	-1.8
1890	554	-12.8
1900	541	-2.4
1910	508	-6.1
1920	486	-4.3
1930	407	-16.3
1934	350†	-14.0

* Estimates of Professor Walter Willcox prior to 1880. See publication of the American Statistical Association, Boston, vol. XII, 1912, p. 495.

† Children—ratio of births 1925-1929 to census 1930, applied to births 1929-1933.

NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE PER 1,000 WOMEN
15 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE ON APRIL 1, 1930, COMPARED WITH
RURAL POPULATION IN UNITED STATES¹²

<i>Class of Population</i>	<i>Number of Children per 1,000 Women</i>
Urban	
7 cities largely American stock*	225
All cities over 100,000 population	293
All cities 2,500 to 100,000 population	341
Rural	
Rural nonfarm (mostly village) population	471
Rural farm population	545
Leslie County, Eastern Kentucky (95 per cent on farms)	915

* Portland (Oregon), San Francisco, Los Angeles, Kansas City, St. Louis, Nashville, and Atlanta.

¹² *The Outlook for Rural Youth.*

If these figures and trends are correct, the American school should feel the effects of these losses in the following years: elementary schools, 1930; high schools, 1937 or 1938; colleges, 1941 or 1942.

Losses in the elementary schools of the Nation seem, generally, to be on time schedule. For example, a recent report of the Office of Education of the Department of the Interior states that:

Enrollments in elementary schools show a continued increase for the fifty-year period ending with the school year 1929-1930. Since that year elementary enrollments have continued to decrease. This decrease for each of the two-year periods ending in 1932 and in 1934, respectively, were 143,173 and 405,909. This represents a total decrease of 549,082 or 2.58 per cent for the four-year period.

These figures indicate that the losses in births from 1921 to 1929 had reached the elementary schools by 1930 and were progressive in character. It should be kept in mind that the losses in births during the past five or six years have not yet been reflected in elementary-school enrollments. Furthermore, during this period, the numbers in the upper grades were still increasing, thus offsetting to a certain extent the losses in the lower grades. These facts are reflected in the table on page 462.

In the State of New York, elementary-school enrollments from 1924-1925 through 1933-1934 are shown in the second table on page 462.

Mr. J. Cayce Morrison, assistant commissioner of elementary education, comments as follows: "From this tabulation it would appear that we reached the peak in total registration in the year 1930-1931 throughout the State of New York."

Further supporting evidence of the elementary enrollment decline is found in school and population figures of the City of New York, a startling, fascinating, and almost unbelievable

ENROLLMENT BY GRADES IN 41 STATES FROM
1931-1932 TO 1933-1934¹³

<i>Grade</i>	<i>Percentage of Change</i>
Kindergarten (29 States)	—10.8
First	— 4.8
Second	— 5.6
Third	— 1.8
Fourth	— 0.4
Fifth	— 1.6
Sixth	+ 0.6
Seventh	+ 5.8
Eighth	+ 2.4
Total elementary school	— 1.6
First-year high school	+ 1.5
Second-year high school	+ 8.7
Third-year high school	+11.3
Fourth-year high school	+12.5
Postgraduates (17 States)	+70.4
Total high school	+ 8.0

REGISTRATION IN ELEMENTARY PUBLIC SCHOOLS
KINDERGARTEN-GRADE 8¹⁴

1924-25	1,650,966
1925-26	1,642,599
1926-27	1,677,388
1927-28	1,688,012
1928-29	1,707,232
1929-30	1,716,382
1930-31	1,718,242
1931-32	1,715,727
1932-33	1,700,268
1933-34	1,683,731

¹³ Compiled by David T. Blose, assistant statistician, United States Office of Education, Circular No. 151, "Preliminary Statistics of State School Systems, 1933-1934," October 1935.

¹⁴ Figures furnished by Assistant Commissioner of Elementary Education, State of New York.

story. We find, for example, that children under 5 years of age in Manhattan, who in 1920 totaled 210,000, had dwindled to 113,000, almost half, by 1930. Manhattan reached its peak in elementary-school enrollment in 1920 with a total of 279,860. In March 1935, it had in attendance 176,999. This borough has had to face the double liability of a movement of population outward to other metropolitan districts as well as a decline in its birth rate. One can readily see the disastrous and double-edged effect of these movements upon the elementary-school population in the city as a whole which has been moving downward since 1930 and is destined to continue downward until the birth rate reaches a point of stabilization. In 1930 New York City had 874,810 elementary-school children, including the junior high schools. Last year, 1934-1935, it had 848,233. One would expect that Manhattan alone might account for this decline. Yet the great migration outward from that borough has failed to offset the declining birth rate in the other boroughs, and since 1933-1934 similar trends have appeared in Brooklyn, Queens, and Richmond, while the Bronx with its heavy immigrant population has just about held its own.

ELEMENTARY STUDENTS IN NEW YORK CITY BY BOROUGH¹⁵

<i>Year</i>	<i>Manhattan</i>	<i>Bronx</i>	<i>Brooklyn</i>	<i>Queens</i>	<i>Richmond</i>	<i>N.Y.C.</i>
March '32	183,979	165,897	357,392	140,300	23,244	870,812
March '34	180,154	165,540	352,395	138,573	22,774	859,436
March '35	176,999	166,342	346,370	136,635	21,887	848,233

To cite a suburban case, let me take the enrollments of a small school district on the immediate outskirts of the City of New York and very favorably situated by location and age composition to resist a decline in student population. Yet even here, losses, as shown in the following tables, have been sustained.

¹⁵ Official City of New York school reports.

ANNUAL ENROLLMENTS IN SUBURBAN LONG ISLAND SCHOOL DISTRICT,
1925-1935¹⁸

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Gain or Loss</i>	<i>Per Cent of Gain or Loss</i>
1924-25	3,202	...	....
1925-26	3,695	493	15.4
1926-27	4,194	499	13.4
1927-28	4,724	530	12.8
1928-29	5,146	422	8.9
1929-30	5,475	329	6.4
1930-31	5,534	59	1.0
1931-32	5,905	371	6.7
1932-33	6,001	96	1.6
1933-34	5,893	-108	-1.8
1934-35	5,821	-72	-1.2*

* If the increase in kindergarten students, due to the opening of new classes, is eliminated (61 students), then the loss is 133, or 2.2 per cent.

These figures indicate that there was an average annual increase in the public elementary-school enrollment of this district up to 1932-1933 but that the percentage of increase lessened steadily until in the year 1933-1934 an absolute decline was reached. These gains broken down into grades indicate the

ANNUAL ENROLLMENTS IN SUBURBAN LONG ISLAND SCHOOL DISTRICT
BY GRADES¹⁸

<i>Year</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>Special</i>
1925-26	734	535	512	475	446	392	302	179	..
1926-27	847	594	570	517	497	434	352	230	..
1927-28	873	662	661	619	528	505	371	309	..
1928-29	923	665	682	634	689	539	464	329	..
1929-30	1,037	719	707	649	689	568	421	397	..
1930-31	940	782	674	701	634	644	521	405	26
1931-32	974	773	723	717	730	621	600	478	52
1932-33	958	722	730	690	716	751	594	475	88
1933-34	940	719	676	712	638	716	649	502	84
1934-35	799	702	689	639	683	655	694	537	105

¹⁸ Compiled from official school records of this district.

movement of enrollments shown in the second table on page 464.

The evidence is clear and to the point. The downward trend of the elementary-school enrollments which started in the first grade in 1930-1931 is now making itself felt in the first through the sixth grades, and this year will reach the seventh.

Another interesting trend in this district is shown in the census of children under 18 years of age.

CENSUS OF CHILDREN, BIRTH TO 18, SUBURBAN LONG ISLAND
SCHOOL DISTRICT ¹⁷

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Gain</i>	<i>Per Cent of Gain</i>
1924-25	2,499	..	..
1925-26	3,762	1,263	50.5
1926-27	5,039	1,277	34.9
1927-28	6,466	1,427	28.3
1928-29	7,592	1,126	17.4
1929-30	8,664	1,072	14.1
1930-31	9,990	1,326	15.3
1931-32	10,620	630	6.3
1932-33	11,320	700	6.6
1933-34	11,448	128	1.1
1934-35	11,773	325	2.8

Glancing superficially at these figures, one would be led to believe that the school population was still increasing. A less evident but the most startling fact of all, however, is that there is still a large increase in the numbers of children coming within the ages 12 to 18, and that these increases at the moment are just enough to outweigh the decreases in the years from birth to 11 or 12 years of age. However, as the leaner years push up and the fatter years push beyond age 18, both the amount and the percentage of increase become smaller and smaller, and in a year or two will turn into a decline.

¹⁷ Compiled from official figures in district superintendent's office.

The following quotation is taken from *The School Review* for October 1935.

These trends are, of course, reflected in most local school systems. An illustration is at hand in the annual report to the Board of Education of Arthur E. Erickson, superintendent of schools at Ironwood, Michigan. The report includes a section on trends in school enrollments for the ten years from 1926 to 1935. The elementary-school enrollment dropped off during the period from 3,321 to 2,497, and the high-school enrollment mounted from 762 to 1,277.¹⁸

High-school enrollments have increased enormously throughout the United States, are still increasing, and should continue to increase for several years to come. But by 1937 or 1938, generally speaking, losses in the elementary grades should be reflected in the freshman or ninth year, although the total high-school enrollment may continue to increase for a year or two longer due to the larger numbers in the upper years. The City of New York reports the smallest increase in high-school enrollments for a number of years. The slowing up of the rate of increase in high-school registration in New York has been accompanied by an unexpectedly large decline in the elementary-school enrollment. College and university enrollments should continue to increase generally until the early years of the next decade. In the case of the high schools and colleges, there will be a conflict between the tendency to prolong education, on the one hand, and a declining birth rate, plus more work opportunities, on the other. It may well be that advanced and graduate enrollments in institutions of higher learning will increase for a number of years due to the stiffer competition for secure professional positions. Since the middle years of life will be strong in numbers in the United States for several decades longer, opportunities in the field of adult education will increase. It is very possible that the upper

¹⁸ *The School Review*, October 1935, p. 570.

reaches of the educational field will expand, while the lower ones will decline. But, in any case, population trends will take on added significance to every school administrator whether he be in elementary-, high-school, college, or university affairs. When expansion was rapid, there were more than enough students for all and school administration demanded certain types of leaders. When numbers become stationary or decline, school administration may well be something very different. The business world before 1929 contrasted with the present period is a good analogy.

As one looks forward countless adjustments come to mind. The tremendous expansion in enrollments during the past decade has put unprecedented pressure upon physical facilities. Many school districts are still faced and will be faced for several years to come with the necessity of modernizing buildings and equipment. Nevertheless, any expansion based on old trends and "booster" psychology, especially in the municipal field of public works, may well leave many communities impoverished and unable to provide properly for other more intangible services such as instruction and teachers' salaries. Over-expansion in building must be carefully watched. The United States in the past has financed large developments in public works, especially municipal undertakings, through the issuance of long-term bonds. Interest and amortization on these bonds were readily absorbed by a rapidly growing population which constantly built ever higher assessment values. With a very slowly growing population or a stationary population, these matters of long-term financing take on serious aspects. There is no telling what burden of debt this orgy of waste, unwise financing, and unnecessary public works will place upon the backs of the fewer children now marching on into adult life. It may well be that some cities will find it necessary to abandon schools in some sections, while overcrowding is prevalent in

outlying districts. Community planning in any locality must now be based more than ever before upon a thorough study of population trends as evidenced by the figures of the last ten years. Otherwise, waste—in some cases, impoverishment—may result.

Another field of adjustment will be found in the training of teachers. The easing of the pressure on external school facilities will make it possible to turn attention to quality in education. The need for new teachers will undoubtedly be lessened, while the demand for better teachers should increase. There may well be a greater interest in education on the part of parents of one or two children as contrasted with that of parents tied down with larger family responsibilities. Normal schools training teachers for the elementary grades, for example, may have to divert part of their applicants into the field of adult education, even to other occupations. Schools of education will find it necessary more than ever to correlate their output with job opportunities. Many adjustments will be necessary as the decline in the number of pupils and students inevitably reaches up into the higher years.

The United States stands at the beginning of an epoch, a turning point in its population history. The school, because it deals with children, will be among the first of our social institutions under the necessity of adjusting itself to this major reversal in the population trend of the Nation.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

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Sociology is a basic science of social interaction and of human nature in its interacting aspects. Its subject matter includes people in their social relationships, groups, institutions, communities, cultural patterns, and all the details of social structure and organization. But sociology is not concerned merely with social structures. It studies social forces and all of the processes of social interaction; it is concerned with social dynamics as well as statics.

Educational sociology represents an attempt to make the principles and methods of sociology available and applicable to education. In addition it focuses upon special educational problems which depend for their solution on sociological principles. It is obvious that educational sociology is closely related to educational psychology and educational philosophy, both of which must utilize many of the same facts, although from a different point of view and with a different emphasis.

Education is an applied science, at least in intent, based upon psychology and sociology. Education also draws on philosophy upon which it has depended heretofore for its objectives. Educational philosophy in turn depends upon the data of sociology because its generalizations must be rooted in social experience made significant by the sociological application of the scientific method.

The sociological approach to educational problems may be considered first from the standpoint of method and second from the point of view of the subject matter with which educational sociology deals.

THE METHOD OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

Perhaps in no other way does sociology stand so much apart from traditional approaches to social problems as in its insistence upon a rigidly scientific method. This does not mean that it utilizes the techniques of the physical sciences which are often inappropriate when applied to social phenomena; yet the general principles of scientific method underlying both the physical and social sciences are the same.¹

The question naturally arises as to why sociological science and research have not done more in the solution of social and educational problems. Some of the reasons may be stated as follows:

1. The subject matter of the social sciences is intangible. One can dissect a frog or boil a piece of metal in a test tube, but one cannot deal so objectively with a social attitude or institution.

2. Human relationships and personalities, moreover, are among the most complex of all objects of scientific investigation and for this reason exceptionally difficult of scientific description and measurement.

3. Furthermore, controlled observation, which is the basic first step of scientific method, is particularly difficult because people, groups, and institutions resent and resist observation.

4. Experiment involving human beings is even more difficult because human values cannot be violated in the interests of research.

5. Perhaps the most important explanation of the tardy application of the science of sociology to social and educational problems is a well-nigh universal personal and group bias which generates resistance to research. Bias may be simply defined as some characteristic of an individual, a group, or an institution which leads to resistance of scientific investigation.

¹ For a discussion of the methods of sociology and social research, see George A. Lundberg, *Social Research* (New York: Longmans Green and Company, 1929), xi + 380 pages.

Vivian M. Palmer, *Field Studies in Sociology* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928), xix + 281 pages.

Stuart A. Rice, *Statistics in Social Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930), xii + 222 pages.

The use of scientific methods in studying schools, social agencies, churches, motion pictures, the radio, and other social institutions is likely to meet with resistance because of such types of bias as ethnocentrism, conservatism, irrational sentiment, and vested interests.

Far more insidious than any other type of prejudice in its resistance to scientific investigation is the bias of vested interests, which may be political, economic, religious, or educational. Educational institutions resent scientific investigation which suggests institutional changes that will alter routine, decrease salaries, eliminate personnel, or disturb tenure.

Altruism is rarely developed sufficiently in human nature to lead to an unselfish submission to impartial study. Yet it is this very function of scientific research that makes it the most important potential agency of social progress. The gains of natural science will be denied if analogous methods are not applied to social problems. Scientific achievements in the arts of war may destroy civilization if social science is unable to make an equivalent conquest in the field of social control.

It is obvious, therefore, that one of the most important social tasks of the present day is to evaluate scientifically the results of human institutions. The measurement of the influence of institutions is one of the most difficult of all research problems. A good example of the scientific evaluation of an educational institution using the methods of educational sociology was the Boys' Club Study of New York University, completed in October 1935.²

The Boys' Club Study was initiated in 1928 to make a scientific evaluation of the character-building and delinquency-preventing results of a large boys' club, newly opened in one of the crime-breeding

² A complete account of the scientific methods employed in this study is contained in the September 1932 issue of *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, VI: 1, pp. 1-64. The results of the Boys' Club Study are to be published in book form, probably late in 1936.

areas of New York City. Financed by a gift of \$37,500 from the Bureau of Social Hygiene, the study undertook to measure the influence of this club over a period of four club years from 1927 to 1931, utilizing a combination of the descriptive, ecological, statistical, and case-study methods with several innovations in research techniques including particularly the use of the superior boy as an observer and reporter.³

This research involved a complete study of the Boys' Club community covering the basic social facts of the area and the conditions related to delinquency and its propagation as well as the wholesome influences affecting boys in this district. It also involved a complete descriptive and statistical study of the club itself. These phases of the investigation yielded the necessary background for the evaluation of the club as a delinquency preventive agency, which was accomplished through a study of the membership of the club in comparison with non-members, membership turnover, case studies of delinquents within and without the club, and a comparative statistical analysis of delinquency in the club and in the community.

An example of an attempt to measure scientifically an informal educational influence of great social importance was the investigation of the Motion Picture Research Council,⁴ which combined the methods of the educational sociologist with those of the psychologist.

The Payne Fund Studies, undertaken under the auspices of the Motion Picture Research Council, were carried on by a group of competent research experts drawn from the fields of sociology, psychology, and education. Several universities coöperated in the undertaking, which organized a few basic studies designed when completed to throw light upon the following questions: What is the amount of knowledge gained and retained from motion pictures by children of various ages and what types of knowledge are most likely to be thus gained and retained? To what extent do motion pictures influence the conduct

³ For an account of the superior boy technique, see *Social Attitudes*, by Kimball Young (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1931), pp. 236-265.

⁴ Published in a series of monographs by the Macmillan Company, New York, under the general title of the Payne Fund Studies.

of children and youth either in desirable or undesirable directions particularly in regard to patterns of sex behavior? What effect do motion pictures have upon the social attitudes of children? What is the effect of motion pictures upon the health of children? To what extent do motion pictures affect the emotions of children and to what extent are these possible effects wholesome or harmful? What are the effects of current entertainment films upon the standards of American life? What is the content of current films? In what numbers do children of various ages attend commercial motion-picture theaters? What can be done to teach children to discriminate between good and poor motion pictures?

Most of these questions were rather definitely answered in the findings of the researches already alluded to. They showed in general the tremendous influence of motion pictures upon the information, attitudes, emotions, and activities of children and indicated the importance of the consideration of these educational influences by the schools.⁵

THE SUBJECT MATTER OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

The subject matter of educational sociology is too extensive to permit complete discussion here. We shall merely mention some of its broader ramifications and indicate more in detail some of its fields of special interest.

Every phase of school organization, procedure, and policy needs a foundation of sound sociological principles. Teaching techniques and classroom procedures deserve sociological study to determine the value of the socialized recitation, the project method, the platoon system, the Dalton plan, and the activity program as compared with older methods. What are the sociological implications of "lock-step" methods as compared with individualized teaching? How may validated new methods which have a sound sociological basis be applied and extended?

There is no more important field for educational sociology

⁵ A complete account of the scientific methods employed in this study is contained in the December 1932 issue of *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, VI: 4, pp. 193-258.

than the sociological determination of the curriculum and the formulation of the social objectives of education. Does the content of the curriculum meet the needs of the pupils? Does it enable future citizens to meet effectively the demands of modern civilization and American institutions? Is the curriculum characterized by social lag or does it keep up with rapidly changing social and economic conditions?

William Healy has pointed out the lack of pupil interest in what is presented in school as an important factor in juvenile delinquency. He says:

It is extremely seldom that our records of delinquents, which reveal so much of the inner world of childhood, show the slightest indication of any commanding interests based on material derived from the schoolroom. Fifty years ago this might not have been true, but at present the school is in deadly competition with the activities of the street, with the radio, the movies, and the newspapers. And from all these other sources the child naturally seizes upon the crudely dramatic and the lurid, both usually unwholesome. A vast number of homes are totally unfitted and unequipped to offset this, and the net result spells menace to good personality development and to our whole civilization.⁶

Many children in crime-breeding areas are not equipped mentally or socially to profit by traditional academic curricula. In one of the academic high schools in New York City, and this is typical of many cases, a young Italian boy was virtually forced onto the street because he could not adjust himself to an inflexible curriculum of academic subjects. He became demoralized, fell in with a group of hoodlums, and was sent to prison as the result of a hold-up. From a sociological point of view, the Citizens' Conservation Corps training camp, although far from perfect, is a more important educational institution for a

⁶ William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, "How Does the School Produce or Prevent Delinquency?" *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, April 1933, VI: 8, p. 460.

large number of older adolescents than is the senior high school because it has met the needs of a particular type of young man in a way that the high schools have not, and has taken from depressed rural areas and crime-breeding urban districts thousands of boys who would otherwise be subjected to the demoralizing idleness which produces criminality.

Sociological maladjustments in the school system are responsible for difficulties confronting pupils and teachers alike. The problems connected with grading, promotion, and progress of pupils and all sorts of pupil groupings in relation to intelligence, achievement, and social and cultural backgrounds have important social implications. One example of a type of maladjustment prevailed for many years in Chicago where the transition from school to work was so regulated that it was impossible for many boys either to attend school or to be legally employed. As a result gangs developed about the gates of every school—veritable training schools for delinquents, composed of boys who spent their time upon the streets and demoralized the children in school.

Other phases of school organization which demand sociological study include the division of labor among the personnel of a school system; the articulation of the various departments and subdivisions within the system; the social control of school personnel; the operation of pressure groups on the schools; politics within and without the system; and the inflexibility of the system as a whole when it is burdened with ponderous tomes of regulations which kill individual initiative and make educational progress difficult. Problems of this type are too likely to be viewed solely from the standpoint of traditional teaching methods on the one hand or of the external financial or political aspects of school administration on the other, rather than from the point of view of their sociological sound-

ness—their effects upon the character, personality, and social efficiency of pupils and teachers.⁷

Social relationships and interaction in education present a large field of interest to the sociologist. Are the relations between teacher and pupil those of sympathetic understanding, coöperation, and *rapport*, or of distrust, conflict, and antagonism? These important problems demand more than casual interest. Likewise, the adjustment of individual pupils to other pupils is a basic requisite for wholesome social development. The child who is teased at school, for example, represents a problem for the consideration of the sociologist, because school maladjustment may be a symptom of serious social maladjustment in later life.⁸

Another phase of pupil relationships includes the multitude of *casual* contacts of children at school—going to and from school, and in activities of school groups outside of the school building. These problems are very important from the standpoint of juvenile demoralization and delinquency. The school creates unusual opportunities for social contagion of undesirable social attitudes and patterns of conduct. Yet little progress in the intelligent control of this type of informal education has been made. William Healy maintains that the school

⁷ The best single sociological study of the school as a social organism has been made by Willard Waller, associate professor of sociology, Pennsylvania State College, *The Sociology of Teaching* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1932, xiv + 467 pages). Waller brings a genuine sociological point of view to the study of the varied social processes taking place in the school situation. He discusses the relation of the school to social processes in the community, the place of teachers in the community, the relations of parents to teachers, and those obscure influences emanating from janitors, school stores, etc. He interprets the school in cultural terms, discussing its ceremonies, the expression of fundamental wishes in its activities, crowd psychology, and primary groups among school children. He presents pupil-teacher relations, social factors in the classroom situation, and personality problems of teachers. This type of objective study of the social phenomena related to education needs to be greatly extended.

⁸ For a fuller discussion of the social aspects of the problem of the teased child, see Frederic M. Thrasher, "Teasing as a School Problem," *Child Study*, January 1930, VII: 4, pp. 101-106.

creates opportunities for demoralizing influences to spread from one pupil to another.

Perhaps it might be thought that the school is not highly responsible for the influence of children upon each other, but, as we insist, the school is forcing such companionship. Prior to school age, intelligent parents generally know something of their child's companionships. When society to a considerable degree takes in charge the child's life, he is almost always thrown with others about whom the guardians of the child know little or nothing. Does not then the young life become very considerably a matter for oversight by the school people? If children are thrown together from widely different standards of culture and upbringing, should there not be great care to prevent harm being done? We could offer hundreds of cases in which delinquency contagion has been the result of school companionship, and in not a few cases the troubles have arisen within the area of immediate school contacts.⁹

Associations formed in school groups such as clubs, fraternities, crowds going to and from school on foot or in buses, gangs, playgroups, etc., are of great importance in molding the character and personality of the school child and in determining his vital interests. The school has discovered no effective way to study or control these activities, especially their *sub rosa* aspects. Suppression by legislation, a method often employed with high-school fraternities, appears to present the easiest way, but in reality it is often the most disastrous.

There is no more important sociological problem in the field of education than the relation of the school to the home of the pupil. The attitudes and coöperation of parents are fundamental in determining the success of schoolwork. The parents' organization presents many issues of sociological interest. The inability of the classroom teacher to carry out a complete program of home visiting necessitates the specialized visiting teacher, a neglected function in the American school system in

⁹ William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *op. cit.*, p. 465.

spite of promising beginnings which have been made in some localities.

The school as an institution is an integral part of local community organization and to be successful must be responsive to local community needs. It should be the endeavor of the educator to see the community and to see it as a whole, not merely as a series of departmentalized interests. Institutional-mindedness is one of the gravest problems of education because education must be fruitfully linked with other major social activities of the community; it cannot be carried on effectively in a social vacuum.¹⁰

The social backgrounds of the school child constitute another major field of the educational sociologist. Learning is far broader than the schoolroom. It takes place in every life experience, in all the varied types of social interaction in which the child participates. There are many cultural influences outside the school which have a vital bearing upon school problems. Public education must take account of what happens to the child at home, in his neighborhood and community contacts, at work, at church, and during leisure time. Racial and nationality factors are also an important part of the social influences which play upon him outside of school hours.

Space is lacking here to describe all the social backgrounds of the school child which are important to education. Leisure-time experience may be discussed as representing one type of extra-curricular activity which, because of its profound educative influence, is of fundamental concern to the educational sociologist. One forward-looking school administrator requires every

¹⁰ Elsewhere in this issue of *The Journal* a progressive-school administrator, Harry A. Wann of Madison, N. J., has described the importance of educational planning in relation to the whole community. The relations of the school to the community are discussed in the February 1936 issue of *The Journal*, in which several articles present methods now being worked out of integrating school activities with community needs.

teacher in his system to have on her desk a card file listing the leisure-time and outside school activities and affiliations of every child in her class.

Educators have never given adequate consideration to the possible educational advantages of articulating the course of study with such absorbing outside interests of the child as his out-of-school reading, his radio listening, and the motion pictures. The first of these advantages is the possibility of guiding children in their participation in these pursuits and the second is the promise of making schoolwork more interesting to children by relating it to these fascinating outside activities.

It should be pointed out parenthetically that reading, radio, and motion pictures represent passive absorption of the spectacular and dramatic actions of others. The schools can undoubtedly do a great deal to reduce the universal American disease of "spectatoritis" by giving children more active games and hobbies.

What are children reading outside of school? It is important to know whether they are completely absorbed in *Popular Mechanics* or the comic strips. The educational significance of movie-fan magazines, which circulate in the millions every week, can hardly be neglected by the teachers of reading. And what of the sophisticated adolescent who finds his delights in the mildly risqué *New Yorker* or the naughtiness of *Esquire*? Then there are the positively vicious magazines and pictures which are often carried by children like schoolbooks, read by all their schoolmates, and then handed down to posterity. Does not the school have a certain responsibility for guidance along these lines?

It may be argued that there will be pulp magazines as long as there are "pulp-minded" people to read them. Yet an attempt should be made by the teacher to evaluate the pulp magazines and discuss their shortcomings in order that the

children who devour them will be able to appraise this kind of reading diet. Interesting and sympathetic discussions will do a great deal toward redirecting reading into more desirable channels and pointing the way to wholesome substitutes for the overstimulation of cheap reading matter. The evaluation of newspapers and the direction of newspaper reading is also an important function of the school.

To what extent is the radio a distracting habit for children at home? Some of them have become addicts and must have the radio turned on every evening until all the exciting programs have been heard. How many schools are making a serious attempt to guide their pupils in the selection of the programs to which they listen? The radio is undoubtedly performing a valuable function in improving general musical taste, and because of its mass appeal is probably more important in this connection than all the work done in the field of public-school music. Too often the school treatment of subjects makes them distasteful rather than attractive. It is important, therefore, for the schools to utilize pupil interest in the radio to motivate their own music instruction.

The commercial motion picture, which has a tremendous fascination for school children, offers the school one of its greatest opportunities to vitalize its work. Like reading and the radio, it also presents to the school a responsibility for directing the film diet of its pupils. The importance of entertainment films is just beginning to be recognized by school people and parents. The vast influence of motion pictures in imparting information and developing attitudes both in children and adults has been demonstrated. In his summary of the Payne Fund Studies, W. W. Charters points out the extent to which children acquire facts from the movies.¹¹

¹¹ Quoted from *Motion Pictures and Youth: A Summary*, pp. 8, 9, 10. These statements are based upon the study by P. W. Holaday and George D. Stoddard entitled *Getting Ideas From the Movies*. Both volumes are published by the Macmillan Company, New York, 1933.

Charters further indicates the importance of motion pictures in changing the attitudes of children.¹²

How can the school utilize the influence of entertainment films in teaching school subjects? Here is a vast field that has hardly been explored.

There is an increasing number of theater films which have literary backgrounds. Librarians have already noted a tremendous increase in the demand for books when films based upon them are shown. Some school administrators consider a film like *David Copperfield* a part of the curriculum and the whole high school may be dismissed to see such a film during school hours.

Not only is classwork made more interesting by the use of films seen in the theater as subjects for oral and written themes and class discussion, but a few schools are beginning to guide the selection of photoplays by the introduction of photoplay appreciation into English classes.¹³

Not only in English classes, but also in science, history, music, and the social sciences has the entertainment film an important contribution to make.

The potentialities of the motion picture as an instrument of education in the social sciences have never been realized either by educators or laymen. The well-made motion picture is one of the most effective of all educational devices in this field, not only in imparting information, but in stimulating the emotions and changing social attitudes, which are the very dynamics of social action. In no other place in the world can the motion picture serve a more useful purpose as an instrument of social-science education than in America where social changes have been too rapid and too numerous to enable social institutions to keep pace with them.

Social-science teaching needs to be rejuvenated and there is no single teaching device which can make it come to life so effectively as the motion picture. Democracy can be made to live on the screen, to live ideally and practically in a vivid way that will leave indelible im-

¹² *Op. cit.*, pp. 20, 21, 22, 23. These statements are based upon the studies of Ruth C. Peterson and L. L. Thurstone which are reported in their book entitled *Motion Pictures and the Social Attitudes of Children*, published by the Macmillan Company, 1933.

¹³ See for a full discussion of this subject William Lewin, *Photoplay Appreciation in American High Schools* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1934), xv + 122 pages.

pressions upon the plastic mind of youth. Citizenship does not depend upon information alone, but upon habits of feeling and acting which are deeply rooted in our sentiments and attitudes. It is here that the motion picture has a prime function to perform, because it has demonstrated that it can create sentiments, that it can change attitudes. Motion pictures can make us hate the Negro or can create in us attitudes of tolerance and coöperation. They can make us love our parents and show consideration for them. They can make us hate war or love it. They can make us friendly and tolerant of diverse nationalities and economic and social strata in the population, or they can create in us disdain, fear, and distrust. They can make us appreciate the contribution of science to human progress, and generate attitudes of respect for and support of scientific research.

The classroom use of the theater-shown film is only one method whereby the course of study may be related to the entertainment film. Photoplay clubs and popular extracurricular activities in many schools assume a variety of names and functions, but their fundamental purposes seem to be to create worth-while leisure-time activities and to develop a discriminating taste which leads children to patronize only the more worth-while productions in the theater. Through photoplay appreciation in school classes and in photoplay clubs the school is assuming a proper responsibility for the guidance of pupils in the selection of their film diet.¹⁴

In addition to discussion of pictures, photoplay clubs often make amateur movies dealing with school activities or presenting their own photoplays. In the New York metropolitan area it has been possible for many clubs to preview and classify pictures for the National Board of Review. Any school, church, or other photoplay club composed of children or young people may enjoy the privileges of membership in the National Association of 4-Star Clubs.¹⁵ The 4-Star Clubs have a column every two weeks in the *Scholastic* magazine, which circulates widely among high-school students. They hold a national annual conference and they participate in the course on the motion picture being given at New York University.¹⁶

¹⁴ Elsewhere in this issue Reginald Robinson shows that without guidance children are quite indiscriminating in their selection of motion pictures.

¹⁵ Information as to how to form a 4-Star Club or to affiliate any photoplay club with the National Association may be obtained by writing to the National Association of 4-Star Clubs, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

¹⁶ Outlines of this course may be obtained by writing to the author of this article, care of New York University, Washington Square, New York, N. Y.

In communities where no motion-picture council exists, schools may perform a legitimate service by taking the lead in organizing such activities. Motion picture councils of this type may become affiliated with the National Motion Picture Council,¹⁷ which maintains a clearinghouse of information on community motion-picture activities and which has a yearly conference in connection with the annual meeting of the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures.

The preceding discussion of the motion picture has been presented merely as one example of the numerous social backgrounds of the school child which it is important for school people to study and to take account of in planning educational programs.

The important field of school-community relationships has been little more than implied in this article. It is a subject of great importance to the educational sociologist because of the problems arising out of the lack of the articulation of the school with other institutions of the community. These problems are of many kinds and deserve extended sociological research and discussion. No more important problem of this type just now is the proper role of the school in the prevention of juvenile delinquency and crime.¹⁸ This is primarily a sociological problem of community reorganization, in which the school in any plan that is finally adopted must play an important part.

¹⁷ Information as to community motion-picture-council activities and affiliation with the National Motion Picture Council may be obtained by writing to this organization at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

¹⁸ Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck are preparing a symposium on crime prevention which will include accounts of various types of community programs of coordinating crime-prevention activities.

LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITIES OF THE CHILDREN OF NEW YORK'S LOWER WEST SIDE

REGINALD ROBINSON

The purpose of this study was to get an accurate picture of leisure-time habits, activities, and needs of the children of the Lower West Side. Through the kind coöperation of the New York City Board of Education and the school principals and teachers of the Lower West Side, it was possible to contact a large number of the boys and girls of this area. The junior-high-school group of 1,100 was finally chosen for intensive study.

The most practicable method yet developed for a systematic study of such a group is the diary method. This enables the investigator to get directly from the children themselves the story of their daily activities. It is superior to the ordinary questionnaire because it avoids the field of wishes, desires, attitudes, choices, etc. Instead, the schedule used in this study records what the children actually do. In this way it is possible for the investigator to make an accurate picture of juvenile life in the community and to draw conclusions with regard to needs of the young people on the basis of material possessing a comparatively high degree of validity. A further advantage of the diary is its adaptability to statistical treatment which furnishes reliable comparative data which the very nature of the questionnaire prevents.

The diary schedules used provided for records in half-hour units of the activities of the children over a period of four days. The schedule was taken home by the children and filled out during the period studied. In addition to the diary records certain basic background information was obtained from the children to help in defining the group and in describing the social

and economic conditions under which they were living. These facts are important in defining the group studied and in explaining and interpreting the leisure-time activities.

Although over ninety per cent of the children are native-born Americans, over sixty per cent of the fathers were born in Italy and another fifteen per cent were born in some other foreign country. This makes the children a second generation immigrant group. This is a significant fact and must be taken into consideration when discussing leisure-time activities and the home life of the children. In the second generation immigrant group there necessarily arise the various conflicts and adjustments typical of groups adjusting to a new culture.

The families average almost four children per family. This means that these families require help from the children in home duties and outside work and thus absorb considerable leisure time and effort which otherwise might be expended in leisure activities.

About one third of the group were living in homes where the head of the house was unemployed. The average weekly wage was found to be \$25, and seventy-five per cent of the fathers who were employed were engaged in "industrial" occupations. The group, therefore, comes from families of a comparatively low socio-economic status.

The first factor to consider in the study of the leisure time of this group of children is the distribution of hours throughout the day. Obviously, the simplest element controlling their leisure is the actual number of hours and minutes left over from the duties which have to be attended to before they can turn to leisure-time activities. Nonleisure activities are those which offer little or no choice to the participant. They *have* to be attended to. One of the fundamentals in the concept of leisure time is the factor of choice. In one's leisure one may do what one chooses, and this concept furnishes the basis for a

division of the day into time spent for necessary activities and time spent for leisure.

The boys have more leisure time each day than do the girls because the girls are required to help out at home cleaning, washing, cooking, and looking after the younger children. Although the boys run errands and go on expeditions to collect firewood for the house, they do not spend as much time as the girls in helping out at home.

When the leisure time is examined in detail, it is immediately apparent that radio, the motion picture, and reading are consistently popular activities for both boys and girls. Outdoor play is popular for the boys' group as are walking and visiting and entertaining for the girls. Church activities absorb considerable time on Sunday and the girls frequently reported shopping on Saturday. These are the more important leisure-time activities.

After determining what activities absorb most of the leisure time of the children, the next step is to explain in detail what the children actually do. In this way it is possible to make some evaluation of their leisure-time experience with a view of possible changes and improvements.

Listening to the radio is a popular activity for both boys and girls. It is a high ranking activity for the boys on all days. On Thursday forty-seven per cent of the boys listened to the radio and spent thirty-five per cent of their leisure time on this activity. Likewise, the girls who listened in on Thursday spent forty-five per cent of their leisure time with the radio. Practically the same figures appear on Friday. On Saturday and Sunday the children listen longer, but because most of the day is leisure time they spend only about twenty-five per cent of their total leisure listening to the radio. This gives some indication, however, of the importance of the radio in the total amount of leisure time these boys and girls have each day.

Considered in the light of the large amount of time the children spend listening in, the programs which the broadcasting companies offer to the children and the comparative popularity of these programs become matters of concern. It seems inevitable that these children will acquire attitudes, standards, and patterns of behavior from their radio experience.

The children reported accurately the names of most of the programs they listened to and for this period of four days they named 150 different programs.

There is very little listening in to formal educational or informational programs, and of the various types of music only the modern popular music attracts the children to any degree. Only two per cent of the listening in is to news commentators and two per cent to classical music. Four types of programs are outstanding in popularity. These are "adventure serials," "comedians," "family serial stories," and "variety musical shows." Both "adventure serials" and "comedians" are more popular with the boys than with the girls. "Variety musical shows" and "family serial stories," on the other hand, are more popular with the girls than with the boys.

All four types are entertainment programs and include little or no informational material. Since these four classifications include seventy-nine per cent of the girls' listening and eighty-six per cent of the boys' listening, it is evident that the children of these groups listen to the radio largely for entertainment in the form of music, comedy, or excitement.

The obvious conclusion is that the educational influence of the radio on these children is largely informal. For some time each day they are exposed to modern dance music, to various types of comedy, and to thrilling stories of adventure.

The significance of the motion picture as a factor in the lives of boys and girls has become a matter of considerable concern. The motion-picture industry, teachers, parents, and social scien-

tists have come to recognize that movies play an important role in informal education.

Movie attendance with this group runs from a comparatively small percentage of the children on Thursday and Friday, the school days, to twenty-five per cent on Saturday and fifty per cent on Sunday. The impact of the motion pictures upon this group is, therefore, one of the major influences in their experience.

It has been definitely established by Charters's study that the motion picture is an extraordinarily potent factor in informal education. Children retain facts about pictures for at least three months and they accept the stories and situations shown in the films as true life patterns.

It would have been possible to examine each picture which this group of 1,100 children saw and come to some conclusion with regard to its value for the children. Such conclusions, however, would be open to criticism on the grounds of possible prejudice, partiality, or the individual taste of the investigator. Therefore, the opinions of two publications, *Educational Screen* and *Parents Magazine*, recognized as authorities in the field, were consulted. The judgments of these magazines as to whether or not these pictures should be seen by children of the age covered in this study were obtained.

The results of this study of 73 pictures indicates that eighty-four per cent of the pictures presented in this neighborhood were considered unsuitable for children of this age group by at least one of the authorities. There is no reason to believe that the 73 pictures shown on this weekend were much different from 73 which might be shown any other weekend. There would be slight variations in the types of picture shown, but there would not be enough variation to prevent the conclusion that the great majority of pictures presented by the community theaters is considered unsuitable for juvenile consumption. Tastes differ, but it is hard to avoid the conclusions forced upon one by the

overwhelmingly high percentage of nonchildren's films which are presented to the community and which the children may and do attend.

To clarify the situation further, it is necessary to determine which of the pictures offered to the community were the ones the children actually attended in any numbers. If the children used discrimination and chose to see films which were especially fitted for their age group, it might be possible to conclude that a community is justified in presenting over eighty-five per cent of its pictures for adult consumption. If the children used discrimination, they might concentrate on the other fifteen per cent and still not be exposing themselves to the more or less undesirable influences of the nonrecommended pictures.

A study of this phase of the problem revealed that the children's film attendance for this period was concentrated to the extent of seventy-seven per cent on films which at least one authority considered unsuitable for this age group. Accordingly it is possible to conclude that the children do not use discrimination to any great extent, but rather distribute their attendance quite evenly over the spread of film programs offered in the community.

Since studies have shown that motion pictures contribute to children's stores of information, the formation and change of their attitudes, and the molding of their patterns of behavior, the fact that a large proportion of their movie attendance is concentrated on nonchildren's pictures indicates that this important leisure-time activity constitutes a real problem for the community.

The study of reading as a leisure-time activity of junior-high-school children indicates that it is the most frequently mentioned activity over a period of four days. It maintains its high rank in popularity more consistently than any other one activity. Between thirty-eight and sixty-two per cent of the children in each

group report reading on the various days, averaging from about one hour on Thursday to about two hours on Sunday. Indoor activities such as reading, visiting and entertaining, and listening to the radio are consistently more popular with these girls than outdoor activities which are big factors in the boys' leisure time. This is quite understandable in view of the lack of facilities for outdoor play for girls, the home responsibilities which keep the Italian girls closer to the home, and the tradition of the Italian immigrant group which requires careful home supervision over the girls.

Girls report reading more frequently than boys and average more time spent in reading. The children spend from seventeen per cent to thirty-five per cent of their leisure time on reading. More reading is done on Sunday than on any other day.

By breaking down the reading into its subtypes, it is possible to find out the comparative importance of newspaper reading, books, and magazines in the reading experience of the children.

From forty-three to fifty-eight per cent of reading time is devoted to newspapers which are particularly popular on Sunday when both the girls and boys devote a major part of their reading time to reading the Sunday paper. In view of the high percentage of children reading the newspaper daily and the large part of their reading time devoted thereto, it appears that the newspapers operate both frequently and over some period of time each day in the informal educational process of the children.

The Daily News, New York's outstanding tabloid, is the most popular paper with both boys and girls. *The Daily Mirror*, the *New York Evening Journal*, and the *New York American* are all mentioned frequently. This indicates that both boys and girls read the more sensational and less literary and accurate New York papers.

Much of their information and understanding of the political and social life of the adult world is coming from the pictures and

news stories of sports, crime, vice, and politics, from the serial fiction stories of mystery and romance, from the columns of "advice to the lovelorn," and from the critical and editorial comment of these papers. Of course, the children do not read the paper from cover to cover nor do they examine the editorials carefully, but they can hardly avoid the pictures, headlines, stories, and comic strips.

The result of this type of educational experience in youth is to create an adult world whose concepts of family life, sex relationships, politics, crime, and war are those of the tabloid newspaper. In view of the fact that this is a second generation group knowing little of American culture, it is unfortunate that one of their few contacts should give them the distorted picture of American life which they see through the eyes of the reporters, the photographers, columnists, and editors of the tabloid newspapers.

Next to newspapers, books are the most popular reading materials. The children spend from seventeen to forty-three per cent of their reading time on books.

The most significant fact about the books which were reported by the children is that they are stories of people and experiences far from the children's own life patterns. Children like the exciting, imaginative, sentimental stories which are in distinct contrast to their immediate environment. These books furnish the elements of excitement and escape which have been evident in motion-picture and radio taste. This type of literature appears to be harmless enough but, on the other hand, absorption in this material prevents their becoming familiar with literature which might entertain and also provide some information about juvenile and adult life which the children, themselves, would enjoy and profit by. There appears to be very little of this material published for adolescents.

The magazines most popular with the girls are those contain-

ing fiction stories such as *Liberty*, *The Saturday Evening Post*, and *Collier's*, women's magazines, and the *Love Story* type of magazine. Boys prefer mystery and aviation stories and scientific magazines. It is interesting to observe that film and love-story magazines are not popular with the boys, but rank high with the girls.

It is quite apparent that the magazines popular with these children will hardly develop any superior literary taste or critical powers in the youthful readers. It is difficult to say whether mystery and adventure stories have any harmful effect or not. The popularity of scientific magazines among boys is undoubtedly constructive. The popularity among girls of romantic fiction and motion-picture data found in film magazines reflects an interest in the various phases of sex relationships described therein. It is obvious that there should be sources for the sex information and satisfaction sought by these girls which would be more suitable than love-story and motion-picture magazines. Standards and social values acquired in this way are not likely to help a coming generation to adjust to a social world.

Listening to the radio, attending motion pictures, and reading are all indoor activities. The fourth major factor in the leisure time of these children is their outdoor recreation. Much of the time outdoors is spent just "hanging around." Children do not want to play organized games all the time.

A great variety of games and types of play were reported, however. Most of them were adapted to the city street as a locale. The boys varied from an hour and a half on school days to four hours on Saturday in outdoor activities. The girls, as pointed out in the discussion of reading and radio, do not spend as much time out-of-doors and their highest average time spent outdoors is an hour and a half on Saturday. These averages are in the early spring and might run considerably higher as warmer weather sets in.

It is during this time which these children spend on the street in unsupervised and uncontrolled activities that they are exposed to the worst elements of city life. There is the danger of automobile accidents in the streets. Gang life with its own standards and controls functions in forming patterns of behavior. The child is free to find excitement in delinquent activities. He acquires skills and information which are useful to him in delinquent behavior, but he misses those which might help him function constructively.

This is obviously the place where the community must assume responsibility. Play streets, playgrounds, and parks staffed with trained workers are essential. The significant point, however, is that such programs are most difficult to organize and administer in just the areas where they are most needed.

Although one half of the children reported that they belonged to some recreational agency, the highest participation in any supervised recreation was sixteen per cent of the boys on Friday. The agencies in the community, therefore, have on their rolls only one half of the children and attracted less than one sixth of them to their supervised activities in any one day. Apparently there is a large field as yet untouched in the community.

The major contribution of a study of this kind to the community is to enable the forces and organized agencies in the community to provide for the shifting interests and needs of the children upon a basis of facts actually down in black and white. This enables the workers in the community who can see the need for advance and change to function on the basis of the actual community situation. Such change and advance are essential if education is to keep pace with social and economic movements. It can be done most effectively by redirecting and enriching those factors already recognized as present in community life.

SOCIAL PLANNING IN A COMMUNITY

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The dominant characteristic of the American community is disorganization. The indictment is commonly made that the community is overorganized, but even a cursory examination will convince one that while there are multitudes of organizations and institutions in the community there is no integrating purpose directing their efforts. The community is overorganized only in the sense that it has too many independent organizations and institutions, which operate on an individualistic basis with no common purpose or program and with the resultant community disorganization.

The transition in America from the simple agrarian life of a few decades ago to the present complex, industrialized, urbanized life has given rise to new needs and to numerous problems. In an effort to meet these new needs, new organizations and institutions were founded and old institutions enlarged their plants and extended their programs. Schools developed elaborate offerings of extracurricular activities and intramural athletics. Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Pioneers, Four-H Club programs, and numerous other organizations for boys and girls were formed. The churches organized young people's societies and incorporated athletics, dramatics, and social activities as a part of their programs. Community centers, settlement houses, Boys' Clubs, recreation commissions, camps, play centers, and numerous other forms of organization entered the community to meet the needs of children and youth in the urban centers. Commercialized amusements and entertainment found a lucrative field in this new life, and the amusement resorts, motion pictures, poolrooms, roadhouses, and professional athletics vied with service institutions for the time and support of the

young. The various service organizations such as the Boy Scouts, Four-H Clubs, Young Men's Christian Associations, Boys' Clubs of America, and many others soon became national organizations with headquarters staffs whose business it was, among other things, to extend the organizations into new fields. Promoters and organizers went about from community to community seeking to form new chapters, or councils, or buildings, according to their particular form of organization. All too often well-meaning promoters victimized the local community in the sense that a new institution or organization was introduced into the community with too little regard for its need and with no regard for the fact that it must necessarily enter into competition with similar organizations which were performing the same service.

As a result of this type of unplanned community growth we have the sorry spectacle of so-called character-building and service organizations openly competing for the time of the boys and girls they purport to serve, competing for the time of voluntary leaders, trustees, or directors, and competing for financial support. Under this pattern of community disorganization there is competition for the time and support of those who need the services of the institutions least and often those in areas of greatest need are entirely neglected. This is not a picture of an exceptional community, but rather it is characteristic of a typical American community of which Madison, New Jersey, may be taken as an example.

An experiment in social planning has been conducted by local community leadership in Madison, New Jersey, during the past eight years under the title of the Madison Social Planning Council. The leadership of the various institutions and agencies of the community has been brought together in the Social Planning Council for the purpose of studying the needs of the community and providing for those needs coöperatively.

Madison is a suburban residential town located in the beautiful terminal moraine section of New Jersey, twenty-four miles directly west of the Hudson Tubes entrance to New York City. Its population of approximately eight thousand is composed of about five thousand native-born white, five hundred Negroes, and two thousand five hundred foreign born or of foreign extraction, in which latter group the Italians predominate. The only large industry in the community is rose growing. This employs comparatively few people. The majority of the workers are commuters to New York City and to other centers in the metropolitan area. The extremes of wealth and poverty are found in the community. Many workers are employed on the estates of the wealthy and in personal service. A large relief clientele has resulted during the years of the depression, especially among those formerly engaged in the building trades.

The educational institutions in Madison are Drew University, Brothers College, a private elementary school, a Catholic parochial school, and public elementary and high schools. The churches include the Roman Catholic, Protestant Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal, African Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Colored Baptist. A Young Men's Christian Association building provides a program for both sexes; a Settlement House offers a varied program for the so-called underprivileged. Other organizations serving various needs are Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Public Library, American Association of University Women, Thursday Morning Club (a woman's club), Rotary, Kiwanis, Elks, Masons, Junior Order of American Mechanics, American Legion, Daughters of the American Revolution, Forum Club (an Italian men's club), and numerous other social, service, political, recreational, and health organizations. These organizations and institutions are listed not because they represent an unusual array but rather because they emphasize the fact that Madison is a typical community.

Social planning in Madison began in 1928 with a youth survey which was initiated by the Boy's Work Committee of the Rotary Club. Representatives of all of the organizations working with youth of school age were called into conference to discuss the value of a survey and finally to plan and carry out the survey. Leaders in the public, private, and parochial schools, Catholic and Protestant churches, service clubs, the Young Men's Christian Association, Settlement House, Scouts, and recreation commissions coöperated in the survey. The questionnaire method was used. This was administered through the public, private, and parochial schools from the fourth grade through the senior high school. The committee was interested in finding the membership of youth in the various agencies, the extent of participation in youth programs, and areas of neglect. The details of the survey will not be presented here. The chief value of this procedure was threefold: (1) It revealed extensive overlapping of programs and duplication of services; (2) it discovered individuals and groups that were totally untouched by the institutional programs; and (3) it was the means of bringing together the leadership of the institutions and agencies to study coöperatively community problems.

After several meetings of this survey committee composed of priests and preachers, schoolmen, and social-service leaders, the group decided that a permanent organization was essential. The Madison Social Planning Council was then organized to meet this need. The resolution providing for the formation of the Social Planning Council states the purpose of the organization as follows: "RESOLVED: That, we, the representatives of the Community Organizations listed with our names, shall immediately organize as a Social Planning Council for the Youth of Madison, New Jersey. The Social Planning Council is designed to be the agent of all the organizations for those studies and projects which these organizations may voluntarily wish to

undertake as a whole or in groups, in order that each may extend its program, integrate its relations with other organizations doing similar work, and make its service to youth in Madison more effective, if possible." The Social Planning Council has no constitution or by-laws, and no dues. The officers are chairman, vice-chairman, and secretary.

The necessity for extensive study of this new approach to community planning was obvious from the outset. Community problems had been met, up to this time, by individual organizations promoting independent programs, usually with little knowledge of the programs of other organizations in the community, and too often in direct competition with other agencies which were trying to meet the same needs. The Social Planning Council proposed to approach the solution of community problems coöperatively. Rethinking of philosophies and reorientation of approaches were required. A Social Planning Seminar was organized in connection with Drew University to provide opportunity for an intensive study of this problem. For two years community leaders including priests, preachers, schoolmen, settlement-house director, Young Men's Christian Association secretaries, sociology professor, dean of the School of Religious Education, graduate students, and others met two hours each week under the leadership of the supervising principal of the public schools to think through the implications of social planning and to bring order into community organization. Graduate credit in the University was given those who met University requirements.

✓The following simple formula which was devised by the Seminar has provided the basis of operation of the Social Planning Council: (1) What are the needs? (2) How are these needs being met? (3) How can these needs best be met? Directing the thinking of the leaders to the question "What are the needs?" immediately diverted their attention from institu-

tions and traditional programs and philosophies. The second step, "How are these needs being met?" necessitated an analysis of existing facilities, programs, leadership, and organization. The final step, "How can these needs best be met?" entailed an evaluation of the existing policies and programs and the projection of a program which would most adequately meet various human needs in the community. The findings and recommendations of the Social Planning Seminar were brought before the Social Planning Council from time to time.

The Social Planning Council is composed of two representatives from each organization in the community. These representatives are elected or appointed by their own organizations. The Social Planning Council meets four times during the year. Problems are presented for discussion, recommendations made and committees appointed to conduct studies, carry out specific commissions, and report back to the Social Planning Council.

From the beginning care was exercised in avoiding issues and problems which were highly controversial. In order to bring together leaders who held opposing views in matters of faith or creed or politics, it was considered essential that their points of divergence should be minimized and that emphasis be placed on areas of need where substantial agreement could be attained readily. A policy was also adopted of promoting as many and as varied activities as possible which would involve the coöperation of the various leaders and their constituency. This led to a growing understanding and friendship between those who seldom met in a coöperative relationship. The fact that social change comes slowly was realized from the beginning, so that those who were in position of leadership were content to progress without haste, allowing time for reorientation of thinking and easy adjustment of programs and policy within the various agencies and organizations.

The work of the Social Planning Council is carried on by com-

mittees composed of representatives of the various natural interest groups who are concerned with the particular problem under consideration. Some of the community problems which have been attacked by these committees, the methods employed, and the results attained follow.

1. *Community Calendar Committee.* Conflicting dates involving two or more organizations in the community presented an annoying and difficult problem so long as there was no clearing office for such dates. An individual's loyalties were often in conflict when he discovered that his church was holding a dinner on the same night that his club met, or that a tennis tournament was scheduled on the same afternoon that his scout troop had planned a hike. Community affairs designed to attract large audiences and appealing to the same groups often resulted in ill feeling between sponsoring organizations. A Community Calendar Committee was appointed with instructions to procure the calendar of dates of every member organization, compile the dates in chronological order, discover conflicts, and call such conflicts to the attention of the organizations involved. This study not only revealed conflicts of major dates but also brought to the attention of the Committee overlapping of programs. A permanent Community Calendar Committee was established with the office of the supervising principal of schools as headquarters. All calendars are submitted to this office. All dates of general interest are registered on the community calendar. A column of "Coming Events" is provided for the local newspapers and is published for several weeks in advance. This Committee not only has eliminated major conflicts of dates but has brought about many major changes in programs, enabling organizations to serve the community better.

2. *Public Health Council.* A committee was organized to study the health needs of the community, to survey the various health programs and services in the community, to evaluate their

programs and services, and, finally, to propose a reorganization of the community health program in keeping with the best current practices in other communities. As a result of the work of this Committee the nursing services in the community were reorganized with their work coördinated and placed under one supervising committee. As vacancies occurred in nursing positions, replacements were made with persons who were not only registered nurses but who had, in addition, public-health training. The plan calls for a generalized program rather than the usual specialized program.

The Public Health Council was organized for the purpose of coördinating all of the health services in the community. Its membership is composed of the school physician, nurses, physical directors, representative from the Board of Health, public-health officer, teachers of science, social science, home economics, hygiene and health, visiting teacher, elementary supervisor, representative of the Catholic parochial school, County Tuberculosis Association, and supervising principal of schools. The Council meets once each month to hear reports of committees and to discuss new problems. The work of the council is carried out through committees such as : (1) Safety Committee which inspects public buildings, organizes and supervises safety patrols, sponsors an automobile drivers' club in the high school, provides posters, motion pictures, and educational material for classes and assemblies, etc. (2) Sight Conservation Committee. This Committee studies classroom lighting and seating, room decoration as it affects lighting, type size for books, etc. It has been instrumental in having one elementary school rewired for lighting and entirely redecorated in order to get proper light reflection, and has made major changes in the lighting of other buildings. (3) Nutrition Committee. This group studies the weight variations of school children, recommends for special physical examination in some cases, provides free feeding for malnourished children, contacts

the family in all cases of underweight and overweight, and conducts instruction in diet. (4) Tuberculosis Committee. A tuberculosis survey was conducted by this Committee among all children of grades seven through twelve and among the teaching staff. Extensive educational work on the cause and cure of tuberculosis was followed by the Manteaux testing of all those to be surveyed. All positive reactors were X-rayed and follow-up made with the families where further work was to be done. This program was carried out in 1935. During the spring semester of 1936 a follow-up campaign is planned to survey the new students and those who were missed the previous year. Space will not permit elaboration on the work of such committees as those on foot correction, dental needs, hearing, immunization, contagious disease control, and curriculum.

The Public Health Council has been functioning for four years. It has not only achieved results in many areas of health needs, but has created a health consciousness in the schools and community.

3. *Recreation Committee.* This committee operating under the Social Planning Council conducted a survey in the public schools of the recreational habits of children, their preferences for various forms of recreation, and their feeling about needs in the community for additional facilities. Some of the results of the work of this Committee are the building of four tennis courts with W. P. A. labor on grounds owned by the Board of Education, financed in part by the Borough Council, and to be supervised jointly by the Recreation Commission and the Physical Education Department of the public schools. Picnic grounds and an overnight camping site were constructed by the same groups coöperating, and an extensive athletic field and playground are under construction with similar coöperation. This committee has been instrumental in modifying recreational programs to prevent overlapping and to meet the needs of neglected

groups. The procedure has been, first, to gather significant sociological data, then procure coöperation of all of the agencies engaged in recreational work in carrying into effect the proposed projects or programs.

4. *Religious Education Committee.* Difficulty has been experienced by the Social Planning Council in the field of religious education because of the fact that education as a whole has been handled piecemeal instead of as a life experience. Religious education has been considered as essentially different from secular education. The church and the public school have each worked independently of the other. The child has been taught by each of these institutions as if the other did not exist. Duplication in curricular content and lack of coördination of these agencies of either program or policy has made the program of education less effective than it might be if education were looked upon as "the total of one's reactions to all of his experiences" rather than as a series of unrelated accumulations. The Committee on Religious Education has conducted a religious week-day school and is correlating the curriculum of this school with the public-school curriculum. Organizations dealing with high-school students such as the Young People's Associations in the churches, the Hi-Y clubs, Girl Reserves, and the literature and social-studies classes in the high school are planning correlated programs. Leaders in church, school, and so-called character-building agencies are studying the problem of developing a coöperative community program of character development which will integrate the work of all of the institutions and agencies dealing with youth.

5. *Madison Film Committee.* The Payne Fund Studies demonstrated the effect of the films on children. The Social Planning Council became interested in studying the problem of the films in the local community and in planning a program of action which would serve to understand the problems of the local exhibitor

such as block-booking and blind-selling, and also to educate parents and children in an appreciation of the best in films. A committee of fifteen prominent community leaders was organized to conduct studies and to propose action. The film habits of children and adults in the community were studied through questionnaires and through a study of attendance at the local theater. Extensive studies were made of the motion-picture industry from producer to exhibitor and also the legislation regulating the industry. Film committees were organized, through the efforts of members of the Madison Film Committee, in three neighboring towns which are served by the same independent motion-picture circuit. These four film committees were federated in an intercommunity film committee for the purpose of coöperating with the theater owner in procuring the best possible films. A project immediately undertaken by the intercommunity film committee was the publication of a *Film Bulletin* which gives the programs to be shown in each of the theaters on the circuit over a period of two weeks and which gives an evaluation of these films. This publication is circulated to subscribers in each of the communities, to the school libraries, churches, and other organizations. It has been published and distributed biweekly over a period of three years.

6. *Guidance Committee.* The Social Planning Council organized a Guidance Committee with the high-school principal as chairman and with representatives from twelve community organizations coöperating. This Committee includes churches, labor groups, American Legion, American Association of University Women, Rotary, Kiwanis, etc. In addition to the extensive guidance program conducted in the high school the Council felt that local community resources should be utilized for vocational and educational guidance. A list of men and women representing a wide range of business and professional experience and of training and education was prepared. These persons were

interviewed by members of the Committee and were informed of the purpose and details of the plan. If they were interested and were considered competent for counseling youth, a form card was filled out giving such data as address, telephone number, occupation, education, college or professional school attended, and hours available for interviews. These cards were filed alphabetically in the office of the high-school principal. A cross index was prepared for vocations and another for colleges. When the high-school counselors find a boy or girl who is interested in a particular vocation, reference is made to the vocations file, the most suitable counselor is selected, and an interview is arranged between the boy or girl and the adult who is engaged in the vocation in question. The same procedure is followed regarding colleges and professional schools. This plan has resulted in college scholarship for worthy students, personal financial help by interested counselors, and in some cases permanent employment for students who impressed the counselor with their capability and promise. The counselors became intensely interested in the community program of education and in the youth of the community through these contacts. Group vocational and educational counseling also utilized these counselors. The committee on guidance is operating on the theory that every boy and girl should have the opportunity of education to the extent to which he is capable of profiting by it, and that every boy and girl should have the privilege of employment. It is endeavoring to realize these ideals.

7. *Committee on Out-of-School and Out-of-Work Youth.* In 1934 the Social Planning Council organized a committee to study the youth in the community who had completed school or who had dropped out and were unemployed. A survey was conducted, with the coöperation of the schools, and a census of such youth was taken. Most of these young men and women were interviewed to discover what they wanted. In almost every

case the chief desire of these young people was employment. In an effort to meet this demand the Committee set up an employment office. Interviews were arranged with these young men and women and each was listed for placement in such a position as he or she seemed qualified to fill. Some placements have been made. Many of the group, however, are untrained for specific employment and are in that sense unemployable. The Committee has brought to the attention of the Council the dire need for vocational training. A movement is under way to conduct a county-wide study of the need for vocational training, and of the feasibility of establishing a county vocational school which might meet this need. Another study is being considered to survey the problem of domestic employment. There is a great demand in the community for domestic help but many girls will not accept this type of work even though they are unemployed and are in need of financial help. The problem of this so-called "lost generation" is most baffling. No solution is apparent yet, but the Social Planning Council recognizes the need and is attempting to find an answer.

8. *Community Case Study Conference.* The efforts of the Social Planning Council to work out a community calendar led immediately to a study of the programs of institutions. The study of the overlapping programs and of neglected areas pushed the question of service and adjustment back to the individual. The Council felt that effective work could be done in the various areas of need only to the extent that such service would meet the needs of the individual. In 1934 the Community Case Study Conference was organized. The personnel of this Conference includes a Catholic priest, ministers of the Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian, African Methodist, and Colored Baptist churches, Young Men's Christian Association secretary, director of the Settlement House, relief director, patrolman from the police department, visiting teacher, high-school principal, elementary

supervisor, supervising principal of schools, dean of the School of Religious Education of Drew University, child-hygiene nurses, a psychiatric social worker and the director of the North Jersey Mental Hygiene Clinic, and a representative of the Morris County Tuberculosis Association. This Conference meets once each month. Regular case-work procedure is followed in studies of maladjusted children. The cases brought before the conference include delinquency of individuals and gangs, personality difficulty, family maladjustment, health problems, school failure, emotional disturbances, sex problems, and questions of institutionalization and placement.

The Community Case Study Conference provides an opportunity for all of the agencies dealing with a boy or girl to exchange experiences, analyze difficulties, decide on a course of collective action, and at the next meeting to check up on the results attained. The whole procedure is educational for those participating, and has led to a more sympathetic understanding of the problems of children and youth, and, at the same time, to a better working relationship on the part of the institutions whose leadership participates in the conferences. During the past three years only one child from Madison has been committed to a correctional institution, and there is at the present time one child on probation and one on parole from an institution.

9. *Sociological Base Map.* In 1934 a committee of the Social Planning Council completed a sociological base map of Madison. This map has been invaluable in making the many sociological studies which are basic for social planning work, and in providing a medium for graphic presentation of sociological data. The base map conforms to the standards which have been developed by Dr. Frederic M. Thrasher of the department of educational sociology in New York University. Among other things the map has been used to plot vital statistics, ecological studies, mem-

bership in organizations, such as schools, Scouts, churches, housing, recreational facilities, population expansion, etc. Such a map is indispensable for social planning and should be one of the first studies undertaken by a Social Planning Council.

The Social Planning Council of Madison, New Jersey, represents a pioneering experiment in social control. It is an effort to direct consciously the development of a community along lines seemingly conducive to the greatest good of the individual and of the group. Social planning necessitates seeing life as a whole rather than in its various parts. It looks upon the individual as an integrated personality rather than as a participant in isolated experiences.

The greatest handicap to social planning is "institutional-mindedness," by which we mean the propensity of leaders to think always and only in terms of their own institution. This is to be expected, however, since leaders are trained by institutions for institutional service. Schoolmen in all of their professional training study schools, school philosophy, and school programs only. Ministers are schooled in the theological schools where training for church leadership monopolizes the thinking so exclusively that no time is left for a comprehensive vision of life in other areas. The same is true of the professional training of men for leadership in the Young Men's Christian Association, Scouting, social work, etc. Compartmentalization of thinking results in "institutional-mindedness." Breaking through the barriers set by this "pigeon-holing" of life interests is a slow and often painful process, but it is a prerequisite to "community-mindedness" which is the *sine qua non* of social planning.

The Madison Social Planning Council quite obviously has not solved all of the community problems. It has, however, established a pattern of thought and action in social planning which may be adapted to the needs of other communities and which may eventuate in a new type of social organization.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Asiatics, by FREDERICK PROKOSCH. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936, 423 pages.

Written in the first person singular, this book might well have used the first person plural pronoun, for the reader journeys beside the author. From Beirut to the dying city of Istanbul, to Damascus Aleppo and Erzerum and on throughout this strange land of contrasts we travel with him. We pause in Buddhist rest houses, mingle with motley crowds in the open square, in market places and in cafes, and at night we gaze out over strange scenes or our restless sleep is disturbed by the weird cries of the occidental night. We have strange companions on our journeys and always we are in conversation with priests, beggars, merchants, secretariats, women of all classes. We travel weary miles over mud-drenched roads, ride camels over sanded wastes, and occasionally skim across waters in modern motor boats and ride in luxurious European cars.

For those who can enjoy such a journey, who can endure realism without nausea, and who earnestly seek to learn the day to day existence of this half of the world's population this book is written.

By Pacific Means, by MANLEY O. HUDSON. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935, 199 pages.

At a time when the God of War has unsheathed his reeking sword and all the world is tense, this book comes as a welcome antidote to our fears and questionings. Through an unusually clear and readable analysis, the author presents the specific agencies available for the settlement of international disputes in contrast to those prior to 1914: the League of Nations, the Permanent Court of International Justice, and specific treaties such as the Paris Peace Pact.

The latter half of the volume is devoted to appendices giving nine documents illustrating the different types of agreements for settlement of international disputes by pacific means.

Land of the Free, by HERBERT AGAR. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935, 305 pages.

The author has presented a defense of democratic ideals. Although the first part reviews the past hundred years of our history, it is more than an historical résumé, as it is this period that has witnessed the generaliza-

tion of the American ideal. In Part II, the author analyzes American culture and finds that we have much of which we may be justly proud.

The last part, "The Struggle for Power," is a thoughtful analysis of the relative values of fascism, communism, and capitalism. Taking sharp issue with Strachey, Mr. Agar believes that our present economic and political systems present the greatest potentiality for the future welfare of our country and make an earnest plea for a reawakened interest in those cherished ideals which have made us "the Land of the Free."

Capitalism and Its Culture, by JEROME DAVIS. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1936, 554 pages.

Through a careful, factual analysis, the author surveys the working of capitalism in the modern world: a controlled press, the monopoly of radio, a refracted education, the interlocking control of religion, control by bankers, the double standard for employer and employee, and the subsidized state.

This is a realistic study, presenting both the favorable and unfavorable elements of our present capitalistic system. Because of its very impartial treatment, the reader must give serious consideration to the author's conclusion: "It should be clear to every impartial student of our economic order that the era of capitalism is almost over, even if some decades elapse before the closing finale."

Labor and the Government, by ALFRED L. BERNHEIM and DOROTHY VAN DOREN. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1935, xii + 413 pages.

This volume is composed of the report of a special research staff of the Twentieth Century Fund, an analysis of the findings, and specific recommendations for Federal legislation. It is a comprehensive, factual, and unbiased analysis of organized labor and its interrelation with government.

The 1932 Campaign: An Analysis, by ROY V. PEEL and THOMAS C. DONNELLY, New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1935, viii + 242 pages.

A factual analysis of the 1932 election, including the selection of candidates, determining platforms, and methods of propaganda. Coming on the eve of the next presidential campaign, this book may be read with both interest and profit.

Pareto's General Sociology: A Physiologist's Interpretation, by LAWRENCE J. HENDERSON. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935, vii + 118 pages.

The recent publication of *Pareto's Sociology* must invariably bring with it a number of commentaries upon it from those who have the time and patience to analyze its involved verbiage. This is such a book. It is, however, only a dictionary of Pareto's terminology using a layman's vocabulary, and reduced to less than fifty pages exclusive of "notes." It is neither a critique nor an interpretation.

Psychology and Health, by H. BANISTER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934, 264 pages.

In this book the author has skillfully presented the psychological aspects of medical practice. He begins with a brief but thorough résumé of psychological theories. With the stage set, he proceeds to set forth the various situations in which the psychological aspect of disease is paramount. The book is of value to both laymen and to practitioners of medicine.

The Sociological Theories of William Torrey Harris, by THOMAS HENRY CLARE. St. Louis: Washington University, 1934, 262 pages.

This study is a significant contribution to the field of educational sociology as it brings to the fore the writings of one of its earliest exponents and greatest leaders. For more than forty years, Dr. Harris advocated the present point of view of educational sociology: that the fundamental purpose of all education is social adjustment and that in the fulfillment of this purpose all of the agencies of education must coöperate. The author has made an exhaustive study and excellent analysis of the voluminous writings of Dr. Harris. He has succeeded in bringing them together in a clear, forceful manner and with fine organization. The book is earnestly commended to every student of educational sociology and will be of genuine interest and value to all vitally interested in the problems of social control.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Activity Program*, by A. GORDON MELVIN. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock.
- Basis for the Theory of Medicine*, by A. D. SPERANSKY. New York: International Publishers.
- Can We Be Neutral?* by ALLEN W. DULLES AND HAMILTON F. ARMSTRONG. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Children's Fears*, by ARTHUR T. JERSILD AND FRANCES B. HOLES. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Coming World War*, by T. H. WINTRINGHAM. New York: Thomas Seltzer.
- Diagnosis and Treatment of Behavior Problem Children*, by HARRY J. BAKER AND VIRGINIA TRAPHAGEN. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Dictatorship in the Modern World*, edited by GUY STANTON FORD. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.
- Education in the Kindergarten*, by JOSEPHINE C. FOSTER AND NEITH E. HEADLEY. New York: American Book Company.
- Education on the Air: Radio and Education, 1935*, edited by LEVERING TYSON AND JOSEPHINE McLATCHY. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Education and the Social Conflict*, by HOWARD DAVID LANGFORD. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Education of Today*, edited by E. D. LABORDE. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fascism and National Socialism*, by MICHAEL T. FLORINSKY. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Growth of American Higher Education*, by ELBERT VAUGHN WILLS. Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company.
- Home and Family*, by HELEN MOUGEY JORDAN, M. LOUISA ZILLER, AND JOHN FRANKLIN BROWN. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Interpretations, 1933-1935*, by WALTER LIPPMANN. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Introductory Sociology*, by DANIEL H. KULP, II. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- I Knew Them in Prison*, by MARY B. HARRIS. New York: Viking Press.
- Job Satisfaction*, by ROBERT HOPPOCK. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Leadership Among Adolescent Boys*, by E. DEALTON PARTRIDGE. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Lost Generation*, by MAXINE DAVIS. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Modern Man*, by HARVEY FERGUSON. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
- Parents' Questions*, by THE STAFF OF THE CHILD STUDY ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA. New York: Harper and Brothers.

